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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

IN convoking Congress to assemble in special session on Monday next, Mr. McKinley contented himself with a mere formal proclamation. His reasons for calling an extraordinary session of Congress he set forth in his inaugural, and he saw no reason to repeat these reasons three or four days later. So he simply issued his proclamation directing Congress to assemble at high noon on the 15th of March "to receive such communication as may be made by the Executive," and there stopped. His purpose in calling Congress in special session is well known. It has been common property for months. He set forth this purpose in his inaugural address. This purpose, it is needless to add, is to secure the enactment of a tariff measure such as will provide the Government with ample revenue and bring about the restoration of prosperity. Mr. McKinley told us this in his inaugural address. He will tell us this in his message to Congress on Monday next. How this is to be accomplished, and why we need more revenue when there are locked up in the Treasury vaults, after putting aside \$100,000,000 as a gold reserve, at least \$75,000,000 in excess of a good working balance, we do not expect Mr. McKinley to explain. When we have used up this surplus accumulation it will be time enough to

increase our revenues, for the keeping of such a great sum out of circulation is very detrimental to trade and industry.

The hoarding of money in the Treasury can serve no good purpose; indeed, it must affect most injuriously the interests of our producing classes, for money hoarded in the Treasury vaults must be taken out of the channels of circulation and of necessity stifle industrial activity. Whether the money be taken out of circulation by taxation or borrowing makes no difference. It is the contraction, the depriving of producers of the money they could so well use in production, and the constant stifling of industry, that works infinite injury.

But the putting in circulation of this available surplus of \$75,000,000, now lying idly in the Treasury, Mr. McKinley antagonizes. He tells us we must not use this money hoarded in the Treasury, but that we must leave it lie there in idleness. He tells us that we must build up our revenues so that this hoard may be increased rather than diminished. What we are to gain by this contraction we would like Mr. McKinley to explain.

And the other thing for the President to explain, is how a tariff framed for revenue will lead to the reopening of our mills and bring about the restoration of prosperity. We are told that the making of a market, or rather the preserving of our home market to goods of domestic manufacture, will lead to the reopening of our mills. But how is a tariff that is framed so as not to repress imports, and it is so that a revenue tariff must be framed, going to preserve our home markets? Such a tariff cannot be framed. The only way a tariff can be made to yield revenue and at the same time protection, is to make it a sort of conglomerate, some schedules being framed to yield revenue, and without a view to protection, and other schedules to repress imports and thus extend protection without regard to the effect on revenues. Upon the protective schedules framed so as to repress imports, no reliance can be placed as a source of revenue. Revenues derived from such schedules must constantly diminish with the development of our own resources and the growth of our ability to supply our own needs.

To talk of extending protection and preserving our home markets without repressing imports, is absurd. A protective measure must repress imports or fail of its purpose, and Mr. McKinley cannot hide this fact.

BUT despite all the random talk about the framing of a tariff bill so conservatively that it will extend ample protection to manufacturers without repressing imports, there is no reason to suppose that Mr. Dingley is so lacking in ordinary common sense as to strive to build a tariff along such lines. The tariff bill that he will present to the House must be a conglomerate of duties imposed for revenue and duties imposed not with a view to raising revenue, but with the purpose of checking importations of foreign manufactures. Thus we are told we are to have duties placed on sugar and wools for the purpose of raising additional revenue; the duties on manufactured goods are to be raised so as to repress imports. But this repression of imports of manu-

factured goods, and consequent curtailment of revenues derived from these schedules, Mr. Dingley does not seem to have taken into account. He seems to have gone on the assumption that although the increased duties would work for a repression of imports, a general revival of trade and industry and increased demand for goods would work for an increase of imports, and that as a result no curtailment of revenues would result from any raise in customs rates made with the purpose of putting a stop to the "flood of foreign importations," which is said to have swamped our manufacturers. And here we run up against a contradiction, for surely if there is to be no curtailment of revenues, no restriction of imports following upon the raising of the rates of duty on manufactured goods, there can be no check to the "flood of foreign importations."

Moreover, Mr. Dingley leaves us in the dark as to what is to bring the revival in trade and demand for manufactured goods on which he counts to prevent any falling off in revenues derived from importations of foreign goods. We are, indeed, told that the putting of a check to foreign importations will lead to a revival in demand for the products of our own mills and thus start the wheels of industry, but we are not given time to examine this explanation before we are brought face to face with the assertion that no repression of importations will follow the contemplated changes in tariff rates. But we are told there is nothing contradictory in this, that the demand for manufactured goods will grow so rapidly that a market will be made for the products of our own mills as well as a quantity of foreign goods as large as we are now importing. But this explanation does not explain. It does not tell us what is to make this market grow.

The simple raising of duties and the turning of the wheels of manufacturing industry on sentiment is not going to make a market for manufactured goods. That increased market will not come until our farmers and planters can increase their purchases of manufactured goods, and they cannot increase their purchases of manufactured goods until they get better prices for their own products. And no tariff schedules can bring them better prices, for the prices for their products are fixed in the European markets, where they are obliged to sell their surplus products in competition with producers enjoying a bounty in the shape of a premium on gold. This bounty is the obstacle in the way of our farmers getting better prices, and until it is removed there can be built up no increased demand for manufactured goods. Hence it is that the restoration of bimetallism, which can alone remove this bounty, must precede an increased demand for manufactured goods and the re-establishment of manufacturing prosperity.

BUT, worthless as a restorative of prosperity as must be a tariff aiming to stimulate manufacturing activity without providing a market for the products, Mr. McKinley is bent on applying this false restorative. To put a high tariff measure through Congress is his great aim. To accomplish this end he stands ready to demean himself by the use of the Federal patronage. No offices are to be given out, excepting a few of major importance, until the tariff bill shall have been passed. This is the word that has gone forth from the White House. No Senators or Representatives who are clamorous for places need come to the President with requests for offices until after the passage of the tariff bill, and not then if they have not walked in the straight course laid down by the Administration as to tariff policy.

Thus, by the withholding of patronage, it is hoped Republican Senators and Representatives can be beaten into line. But the trouble of the Administration will not be in beating Republican Senators into line, but in beating Senators of other parties into support of the bill. And Senators who have not trained with the Republican party cannot well be influenced with patronage. The Federal patronage of their States cannot well be given them to distribute. To do so would be to disrupt the

Republican organizations in such States, for the men who have stood by the party name, even at the cost of sacrificing their principles, deem themselves entitled to the distribution of patronage. They look upon it as the reward for what they choose to call party fealty. So the power of Federal patronage begins and ends within the Republican party.

How to get the needed votes in the Senate to pass a tariff bill has become a serious question with the Republican managers. So slim are their chances that they cling to all sorts of vain hopes and give an ear to all schemes. Three votes short in the Senate, as at present constituted, and the chance of making converts being poor, they have turned to a forlorn hope. There are two vacancies in the Senate, which they aim to fill. Kentucky and Oregon have each failed to fill a vacancy. In each State the legislature has failed to choose a Senator for the vacant seat, which the Governors of those States now seek to fill by appointment, although the Senate has ruled that when a State legislature fails to select a Senator it does not fall within the right of the Governor to fill the vacancy. This precedent was established in the case of Lee Mantle, since elected to the Senate, who was denied a seat in the Senate in 1891, though commissioned as Senator by the Governor of Montana. He was refused a seat on the ground that the legislature having been duly assembled with the constitutional duty of electing a Senator devolved upon it, and, having failed to settle upon a choice, the Governor had no right to commission anyone as Senator.

But, in the face of this precedent, the Governors of Oregon and Kentucky, the legislature having met in each State and failed to elect a Senator, have, respectively, appointed a man to the vacant Senate seat that the legislature of each State could not agree to fill. And these men are knocking at the door of the Senate for admission. That the commissions of the Governors of Oregon and Kentucky will be recognized some profess to believe, though on what grounds, other than partisanship, it is hard to see.

Only a few days since, the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections unanimously reported against re-opening the case of Henry A. DuPont, claiming a seat in the Senate from the State of Delaware. "We do not doubt," ran the report, "that the Senate, like other courts, may review its own judgments where new evidence has been discovered, or where, by reason of fraud or accident, it appears the judgment ought to be reviewed," but to rescind or reverse a judgment merely because the composition of the Senate changed or because the members of the Senate who originally decided it, changed their minds, could not be thought of. "It seems to us very important to the preservation of constitutional government," ran on the report, "very important to the dignity and authority of the Senate, very important to the peace of the country, that the Senate should abide by this principle, for there are few greater temptations which affect the conduct of men than the temptation to seize upon political power, without regard to the obligation of law." This report was signed by the four Republican members of the committee, Messrs. Hoar, Chandler, Pritchard and Burrows, as well as the Democrats, and this being the temper of the committee, it is quite apparent that the Senate is in no mood to overthrow the precedent established in the Lee Mantle case, there being no occasion for the reversal of that precedent other than "the temptation to seize upon political power without regard to the obligation of law."

The Republican managers will have to look elsewhere than to the filling by appointment of the vacant seats of Kentucky and Oregon for the votes to pass their tariff measure.

THE failure of four of the appropriation bills, three by the pocket veto of Mr. Cleveland and one by the failure of the House and Senate to come to an agreement, has upset the plans for the special session of Congress. It was the purpose of the Republican

managers to confine Congress to a discussion of the tariff and thus hasten the passage of the measure. But now the consideration of the appropriation bills that have failed must be entered into, and this will open up the way to general legislation. To a degree, Mr. Reed must untie the hands of the House. He cannot tie the House down to idleness after passing the tariff bill, and perfunctorily adjourn the House from time to time while awaiting the action of the Senate, as he had hoped.

Of course, the control over legislation will not pass out of Mr. Reed's hands, for under the rules of the House no measure stands a show of enactment into law that does not command at least the passive approval of the Speaker. The time of the House for the consideration of measures of import is allotted by the Committee on Rules, of which the Speaker is chairman. This committee practically sets the time and limit for debate, it decrees what measures shall have precedence, what measures shall be taken up for consideration, what measures shall not be brought before the House. Thus it is within the power of this committee to say nay to legislation, and thus it is that members of the House must enlist the sympathy of the Speaker in legislation. Without that sympathy legislation stands little show. The Speaker may even block the wishes of the majority of the House by refusing to set aside a day for the discussion of some measure. A majority of the members of the House may join in a petition to the Speaker to give a day to the discussion of some measure, but the Speaker may refuse, as he has refused, to entertain such petition, refuse to put aside a day for debate, and thus thwart the desire of a majority of the House.

THUS it is that the Speaker shapes legislation in the House. Not only does he say what measures shall be considered, and in what order, but through the Committee on Rules he says how much time shall be given to debate, while the time for debate is parceled out among the members of the House by the Chairman of the Committee that happens to have reported the bill under discussion, on the one side, and by the leader of the opposition to the measure on the floor of the House, on the other. The result is, debate is limited, the power of amendment is restricted, and members of the House are often forced to vote for or against measures without the opportunity of perfecting them.

And such being the case presented by the House, there is all the more reason for the Senate to cling tenaciously to the right of free amendment and full debate. As Mr. Stevenson said, in taking leave of the Senate, and just before Mr. Hobart was sworn in to take his place as Vice-President, "The Senate wisely fixes the limits of its own power. Of those who clamor against the Senate, and its methods of procedure, it may be truly said: 'They know not what they do.' In this chamber alone are preserved, without restraint, two essentials of wise legislation and of good government—the right of amendment and of debate. Great evils often result from hasty legislation—rarely from the delay which follows full discussion and deliberation. In my humble judgment, the historic Senate—preserving the unrestricted right of amendment and of debate, maintaining intact the time-honored parliamentary methods and amenities which unfailingly secure action after deliberation—possesses in our scheme of government a value which can not be measured by words."

And in striking contrast to this, Mr. Hobart, newly installed as Vice-president and presiding officer of the Senate, threatened, but a few minutes after the delivery of Mr. Stevenson's farewell, to bring into the Senate the methods of the House, and thus strike out from our political system "two essentials of wise legislation and of good government—the right of amendment and debate." And on top of this Mr. Hobart read Senators a lecture on what he chose to call obstruction, as being inconsistent "with true Senatorial courtesy," and not "conducive to the welfare of the people nor in compliance with their just expectations." Of what superiority Mr. Hobart is possessed over his fellow mortals,

such as fits him to form an infallible judgment of what is and what is not conducive to the public welfare, and entitles him to say when the Senate has discussed a measure long enough and amended it thoroughly enough, we do not know. We do know that his address did not impress the Senate with his infallibility, or even superiority, and his lecture fell on deaf ears.

SENATOR WOLCOTT is back from his European tour, made with the purpose of taking the pulse of the bimetallic sentiment in England, France and Germany. He probably found plenty of sentiment, and perhaps a growing sentiment; but those in Europe who are convinced of the justice of the bimetallic standard and the advantages to be reaped from a return to bimetalism, are not, if we except the French bimetalists—the Meline cabinet being favorable to bimetalism—possessed of power. And even the Meline cabinet is not ready to act independently of England and Germany.

Senator Wolcott speaks of the results of his mission with much reserve. All that he has told us is that an international agreement for the remonetization of silver is entirely feasible, but that its accomplishment rests largely upon the United States, and is dependent on the course we pursue. From this one would gather that unless we force the European powers to join us in bimetalism, they will never join us. By begging and seeking bimetalism through the voluntary consent of the European powers, we will never attain it. We must force the gold-standard nations of Europe into joining us in restoring bimetalism in self defence. This we can do by opening our mints to free-silver coinage; we do not see how we can successfully force them in any other way.

What course Senator Wolcott would suggest to force Europe to join in an international agreement remonetizing silver we do not know. But of one thing we are quite certain, and that is, that Mr. McKinley will not follow Senator Wolcott's suggestion, whatever it may be. We can not expect Mr. McKinley to make any active effort to bring about bimetalism. A man who takes confirmed gold monometallists for his councillors, who continues such an uncompromising gold contractionist as Mr. Eckels in the office of Comptroller of the Currency, must be regarded as a gold monometallist at heart. Mr. McKinley's advocacy of bimetalism will be purely perfunctory. He will take pains that nothing comes of it.

It seems that the news dispatches announcing that Japan had adopted the gold standard were premature. Yet the undoubted purpose of the Japanese government is to put the country on the gold basis, and there is no question but that the ministry is convinced that its efforts to this end will be crowned with success. This is evidenced by the purchase of gold in London on Japanese account. A plan for the adoption of the gold standard has been formulated and presented to the Japanese Diet by the ministry, and though there is strenuous opposition, the chances of carrying the measure are bright. It contemplates the suspension of free silver coinage after October 1st next, proposes the striking of a new gold coinage, the taking of one-half of the gold in the present one yen gold piece as the basis of the unit of value, and the circulation of the present gold coins at double their denominational value.

The confidence of the Japanese Government in carrying through this plan is evidenced, as we have said, by the purchase of gold on the London market for Japanese account. Such a demand for gold cannot fail to make gold scarcer and prices lower, while on the other hand the falling away in the demand for silver must tend to depreciate that metal. As a result of the prospective changes in the Japanese monetary system, silver has already fallen, as compared to gold, by close to one cent an ounce.

KING GEORGE, titular King of Greece, but not king of the Greeks, is to be congratulated and commiserated on his present position. It means abdication before long, which he will welcome, and it involves the bursting of the king delusion, though it has never deluded him. The Greeks have never desired a crowned ruler, but the geographical situation of the country and the necessities of international complications led to the hiring of the young Danish prince by France, Russia and England at a salary of \$60,000 a year, an innocuous ornament to an empty throne. His personal modesty, common sense and geniality have, so far, beguiled the Greeks into a good-humored toleration for thirty years of his harmless reign. But Greece has no spare cash for regal luxuries, though her ambition to cut a proud figure among the powerful nations is as boundless as ever, though never so hopeless. The domestic religious trouble in Crete is deplorable enough in itself, but King George, who says the Sultan is not to blame for it, pressed from behind, has sought to utilize it for the double purpose of aggrandizing Greece territorially and morally, and also to strengthen his family's hold on the crown. His success is very doubtful. The Powers, whose hired servant he is, will let him down gently, with every good intent toward Greece, but the Greeks are not likely to be as amiable.

ONE of the prominent London correspondents remarks upon the confusion that reigns in the Liberal party in the matter of foreign policy. The favoring attitude of Gladstone in his Midlothian campaign of 1879 and ever since toward Russia is charged with being the cause of recent "annoying and harmful paradoxes." The correspondent thinks he discerns the rise of a new Liberal policy, building on "the ruins of the earlier Gladstonian policy," which will antagonize all the aims and methods of "mediaeval autocracies, whether in St. Petersburg, Berlin or Constantinople." What he, and all his fellow-interpreters of British opinion and imaginary policies, either never took the trouble to learn, or having learnt, have forgotten, is the fundamental fact that England's changeless and dominant policy is governed by considerations of self-interest, and not noble sentiment. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is the true custodian of the sovereign's conscience, and he keeps it in an elastic money-bag. National sympathy, popular enthusiasm for noble principles, these, like sound charity, begin at home, and the ministry of the day take care they stay there. It is not that England loves the Turk more or the Greek less, it is that she loves her precious self most of all. In practical politics, a Sunday of beautiful declarations is held as a sufficient set-off against six week-days of conscience-muzzling.

THE mystified allusion to Mr. Gladstone's pro-Russism is amusing. It is not generally known, even in England, that Mr. Gladstone has always been a theologian, and, in embryo at least, a Cardinal-statesman of the Wolsey-Richelieu type, rather than a secular statesman. His first published work was a book of family prayer. His bias toward Russia dates away back to his early enthusiasms, few of which have died. But it is not from any love, nor even passable respect, for that semi-civilized country ruled by more or less beneficent despots. He was one of the Ministers who declared war against Russia and humbled her into the dust by the help of the despised Turk and Napoleon III. Gladstone is deeply enamored of the Greek church, and to induce it to unite with the Roman and Anglican divisions of Christendom has been, and to the last will be, his life's grand aim. With this key may be found the solution of many otherwise inexplicable contradictions in his career of minor successes and major failures. Aristocratic in principle to his spinal marrow, fierce hater of tyrannical Tsars as well as Sultans, rigid contender for the precedence of Anglican over Roman orders ecclesiastical, Gladstone has no whit less ardently declared and fought for

revolutionary movements, for Russia's anti-British strokes of policy, and for Papal patronage of the Church of England.

IN his enforced abdication of the throne, and voluntary abnegation of some duties of state prior to that event, Mr. Cleveland included the vetoing of the bill to regulate immigration. If the surmise is correct that his favorite pursuit, alternating with duck-maiming, is the study of divinity, it is just possible that his ponderous intellect finds its happiest hunting-ground in the rich and glorious pages of old Thomas Fuller, whom Lamb dearly loved and Coleridge prized next after Shakespeare. The pity is, for Cleveland's sake, that he skipped the page wherein Fuller ruled for his congregation what every good President should rule for his people: "Labor to distil and unite into thyself (and country) the scattered perfections of several nations. Many do but weed foreign countries, bringing home Dutch drunkenness, Spanish pride, French wantonness and Italian atheism. As for the good herbs, Dutch industry, Spanish loyalty, French courtesy and Italian frugality, these they leave behind them." Two hundred and fifty years have deepened the wisdom of this counsel, which, if the great man now in retirement had remembered and acted upon it, would have left him Fuller of patriotic sense, Fuller of covetable fame and proper pride than even he now is of disappointment and dollars.

HAIL, freshest of Freshmen's freshest-valor, hail! Ye yelping yellow kid yahoos of Yale! How feeble must be any attempt of the craziest Muse or the sanest mortal to do justice to the sublime heroism of "We, the Junior Class of Yale University," who prostrate their juvenile immensity at the feet of "James J. Corbett, Esq.," in token of the homage Intellect and Learning crave leave to proffer to Him of the nimble fist and jaw. Yale's unsullied blue silk pocket handkerchief is humbly presented with the request that it shall be honored by being allowed to flutter in the prize-fight ring, and Yale's maternal blessing is flung as a halo around the swelled head of her latest adopted son. This formal demonstration of proxy bravery bears the proud signatures of thirteen unlicked bull-pups in breeches. On philosophic analysis of this heroic act on paper it certainly does seem somewhat of an improvement upon the other and commoner vulgarity of cowardly hazing weak minorities by brute majorities. Perhaps it is better than forging false examination papers to secure, by money, honors beyond their reach while honest. Glorious manifestoes of prize-fight approval may win a certain notoriety, mistaken for tiny greatness, and when infantile intellects have no capacity for perceiving the greater greatness of behaving like decent men, it is, perhaps, unkind to grudge them the liberty to pose as born fools.

BOND ISSUES AND THE CRY FOR REVENUE.

AS a result of the bond issues of Mr. Cleveland's administration, there lie piled up in the National Treasury at this time nearly ninety millions of dollars that have been withdrawn from circulation. We have caused a part of the life-blood of commerce to be deflected out of the channels of trade and industry and into the Treasury vaults, and having got close to \$90,000,000 of it in those vaults as the result of the artificial dam of bond issues erected so as to obstruct its free and natural circulation, it is proposed to keep it there and out of the channels of circulation for good.

Ordinarily, when a government borrows, it is because it wants to spend, and the money taken out of the channels of trade and industry is promptly put back again. And so it is also with revenues and expenditures. A government aims to tax from a people a sum sufficient to meet its ordinary expenditures. What it takes from the people it should give back to them. To tax a people, or burden them with indebtedness, not because the

government has need of money to meet expenditures or to cover some extraordinary outlay, but with the prime purpose of taking money out of circulation, taking from the people their currency, the money they daily make use of in their transactions, and the restriction in the use of which must cause them inconvenience and loss, is wholly unjustifiable.

Yet this is what we see in America to-day. This is the purpose of the enlightened financiers at the head of the Republican party. They propose to tax the people to keep money that has been taken out of circulation by bond issues, from getting back into circulation. They speak, in their partisanship, of the bond issues of Mr. Cleveland's administration as having been made to cover deficits in revenues, but they revolt against the use of the proceeds of these bond issues, and of which \$90,000,000 now lie idle in the Treasury, for the very purpose for which they declare the money was borrowed. They insist that the money borrowed, to cover deficits in revenues as they declare, be not used for any such purpose, but kept idly in the Treasury. And for what purpose? They do not tell us; but what can be the purpose of keeping \$90,000,000 piled up in the Treasury and out of circulation; what can be the purpose of withholding from the people \$90,000,000, or any other sum of money that has been taken out of the channels of trade and industry to their great inconvenience and loss?

This money and much more was taken out of circulation by the sale of bonds and the purchase of gold, thus contracting our currency and depressing prices to the great inconvenience and loss of all producers. The keeping of this money out of circulation entails a continuance of loss and inconvenience, yet it is proposed to tax our people so that this money need not be paid out to meet any deficit in revenues, but may be kept locked up in idleness, and thus the conditions of loss and inconvenience, resulting from such forced contraction, made permanent.

So, to tax our people to keep money piled up in the Treasury and out of circulation is to tax them for the purpose of entailing losses upon themselves. And, such being the case, what, we repeat, is the purpose of those who would build up revenues for the simple purpose of preventing the money now piled up in the treasury, to the great injury of all producers, from being put back into circulation? What, if not to benefit those who reap profit from falling prices, reap profit from the losses and inconveniences entailed upon all producers by contraction?

To increase the taxes bearing upon our people for the prime purpose of keeping out of their hands the dollars that they so much need and which were taken from them by the bond issues of the past four years, and \$90,000,000 of which are at this time in the Treasury, is a gross injustice. And what can be said of the political morality of the men who, under the plea of the need of providing increased revenues to cover a deficit, covertly aim to force currency contraction? For Congressmen and professing leaders of public opinion to openly advocate a policy of currency contraction, as calculated to promote the interests of our producing classes, is mistaken, for currency contraction, and an enhancement of the dollar must lead to the impoverishment of these classes; to seek the accomplishment of this end in a covert way is criminally dishonest.

We are told by those who lose patience with even those who ask no more than time for due consideration and discussion, before being called upon to vote for or against the tariff measure that may emanate from Mr. Dingley's Committee, that the raising of additional revenues is imperative. It is imperative only from one point of view; that of the contractionist, who cannot bear to see the money borrowed by Mr. Cleveland, and taken out of circulation, paid out to meet the expenditures of the Government and put back again into circulation. In other words, if the purpose of raising more revenue is to effect a continuance of currency contraction, more revenue is imperatively needed; but, if the purpose of raising more revenue is to meet the expenses

of the Government, there is absolutely no reason at all for raising more revenue at this time.

There is now in the Treasury, or, was on March 10, a balance of \$211,812,466, or, over and above the gold reserve, that custom has fixed at \$100,000,000, a good \$111,812,466 that are available to meet the current expenditures of the Government. When Mr. Harrison handed over the Government to Mr. Cleveland in 1893 he handed over a Treasury with a balance of but \$24,128,087, exclusive of the gold reserve. In other words, there are between eighty and ninety million more dollars in the Treasury to-day, and available for Government expenditures, than there were when Mr. Harrison handed over the reins of office, and yet men speak of a bankrupted Treasury and on this score demand that revenues be increased.

It is true that the deficit in revenues during Mr. Cleveland's administration ran up to a total of \$196,387,119. It is also true that the deficit for the first eight months of the present fiscal year came close to \$50,000,000, which might be taken to indicate a deficit of \$75,000,000 for the year. But there is so much money piled up in the Treasury that a deficit can go on growing at this rate for quite a year to come without causing the Government any embarrassment. We might pay out \$75,000,000 on account of a deficit and still have a balance in the Treasury \$10,000,000 greater than that at the close of Mr. Harrison's administration.

Evidently, there is no crying need for building up the revenues at this time. We can better afford to wait and watch events; we had much better postpone raising additional revenue until we have need for it; postpone taxing money from our people until we are called upon to spend it. In other words, it would be the part of wisdom to wait for the meeting of the Fifty-fifth Congress in regular session next December; there is no need for raising more revenue until then, and, by that time, circumstances may have so shaped things as to obviate the need of revenue legislation.

We say this not because we look for any better results, any increase of revenues under our present revenue laws, for we do not. Nor do we say this because we expect any curtailment in expenditures, for we do not. We look, then, for no increase of revenues, no decrease of expenditures; consequently, we expect the divergence between receipts and expenditures to remain, the deficit in revenues to continue.

For such a state of national finances we offer no defense; we deprecate the fact that our Government is living beyond its income as much as we would an individual; we know, too, that the Government, though living beyond its income, is not living beyond its means. It has the power to increase taxes so as to bring up receipts to its present rate of expenditures. Why, then, not do it, why not increase taxes? We answer, a deficit in revenues, a Government living beyond its income, is bad, but there are some things worse. And it is with one of these things that we are confronted. That thing is the impoverishment of our people through the covert contraction of our currency accomplished by piling up money in the Treasury by borrowing. As we have before said, better a bankrupted Treasury, though it will not come to this, than a bankrupted people.

And so we say, if the Government is going to borrow under the plea of keeping up the gold reserve, take money out of circulation, and pile it up in the Treasury with the purpose of contracting our currency and depressing prices, it is better that the deficit in revenues continue, and thus a channel opened by which the money arbitrarily taken out of circulation can find its way back again into the channels of trade and industry. We are free to admit that pursuit of the gold standard necessitates a contraction of our currency and depression of prices to the gold level, which is a constantly falling one; but if our people are ready to make this sacrifice let them say so, let not the sacrifice be hidden from them, and forced upon them in an unseen way.

We are convinced, if fairly presented, the American people would never consent to this sacrifice, we are convinced a majority of their chosen representatives in Congress would never consent; then let these representatives beware that they do not unwittingly give consent to such sacrifice by voting an increase of revenues, that, in connection with bond issues, would effect a virtual contraction of our currency through the locking up of money in the Treasury vaults. Let the question of greenback retirement be presented to the people fairly. If they say, Let us destroy this currency, let it be so; if they say, Let us keep our greenback currency, then let us conserve it.

To hide the question of greenback retirement, to seek to bring it about without the consent of the people, to seek to accomplish it by taking greenbacks out of circulation and piling them up in the Treasury vaults, is dishonest. Let us, then, beware of proposals for an increase of taxation when there lie \$90,000,000 in idleness in the Treasury, dollars taken out of circulation and put in the Treasury by bond issues; and when an increase of taxation will serve the purpose of those who scheme to contract our currency in the unbidden way of locking it up in the Treasury through the agency of bond issues.

We are told that such fears are groundless, that there is no prospect of bond issues, that it is the purpose of no one to effect currency contraction through the covert way of increased taxes and new borrowings of gold. If so, let those who demand increased taxation accept an amendment to their revenue measure prohibiting the issue and sale of bonds, save with the specific consent of Congress. Then the measure will be relieved of the suspicion of dishonesty, at least. But the gold contractionists will not relieve it of this suspicion.

The deficit in revenues has been responsible for the bond issues authorized by Mr. Cleveland only in so far as it defeated the purpose of those issues. That purpose was the contraction of our currency by the piling up in the Treasury vaults of money taken out of circulation. On account of the four bond issues we borrowed \$294,000,000 of gold. If there had been no deficit our currency would have been contracted by piling up this amount of money in the Treasury in addition to that which was there at the time Mr. Cleveland took up the reins of office for the second time. But the deficit of \$196,000,000, and current payments of indebtedness on account of the subsidized Pacific railroads to an amount of a few millions, caused over two hundred millions of this borrowed money to be paid out of the Treasury, so that there are to-day less than \$90,000,000 of this borrowed money remaining.

Now, if there had been no deficit each bond issue would have resulted in contracting our currency by the amount of money taken out of circulation. The result would, of course, have been a depression in prices even more severe than that which we have felt. And this, economically, was the purpose of the bond issues. Whether Mr. Cleveland was influenced by any other purpose we do not know; if he was it must have been a dishonest purpose, for there are only two supposable purposes that Mr. Cleveland could have had in view in making the bond issues—the one was currency contraction, quite logical from his standpoint; the other, personal profit.

Of course, the direct cause of the bond issues in every case was the depletion of the gold reserve. But the gold contractionists hoped to find a remedy for this depletion in bond issues. The cause of the depletion of the gold reserve was gold exports; the cause of gold exports a demand of our foreign creditors. To prevent gold exports this demand, it was argued, must be checked, to check this demand we must offer our products so low that such produce would prove more acceptable than gold and be taken by our creditors. Therefore the trust in bond issues as a remedy; for bond issues meant contraction and lower prices.

Now, as we have said, this contraction, through piling up

borrowed money in the Treasury, was largely neutralized by the payments made to cover the deficit. The result was, that the purpose of making the bond issues was, in a measure, defeated.

If there had been no deficit, it is argued, the contraction and fall of prices of the first two or three bond issues would have been so severe as to obviate the necessity of the last. In other words, the grinding down of our producing classes would have saved the Government from running so deep into debt. But this grinding-down would have led to general bankruptcy, an impossibility of shipping enough of the products of our soil to cover our indebtedness and consequent shipment of gold in spite of the depression of prices.

This has been the experience of many countries—of Argentina, of the nations of Southern Europe. They suffered great fall in prices, they ran into debt, but they did not save themselves. Impoverishment of people impoverished the governments, and many governments went bankrupt. The remedy of our gold contractionists in bond issues, even if conditions had made possible its working out to the full, would then have failed. Our people would have been impoverished and yet we would have lost our gold.

So the deficit in revenues, in so far as it has worked to prevent accumulations of borrowed moneys in the Treasury and depression of prices, must be regarded as a boon to our producing classes. In brief, we do not want to tax our people to run the Government and borrow money to run the Government at one and the same time. If we are going to borrow money we only want to tax our people to make up the difference between the borrowed money and the expenditures.

It may be said that it is only because of the deficit in revenues that we have borrowed. But it is not so. We have borrowed to fill up a depleted gold reserve, borrowed to contract our currency so as to force down prices in the hope of thereby preventing gold exports. The deficit in revenues has resulted, as we have said, to defeat, in a measure, this contraction, and in so far we ought to be thankful for the deficit. Grant that contraction would have put a stop to gold exports, grant that contraction is the way out of our currency difficulties to-day, and under the gold standard, if there is any remedy—we do not believe there is any—that remedy is contraction, grant all this, and still we must hold that the borrowing of money without the consent of the people and the taxing of them so as to keep the borrowed money locked up in the Treasury is indefensible; it is not the right way to go about contraction, it is not honest.

There is an honest and dishonest way to go about contraction; the honest way is to do it openly, to let those who will be effected by it pass upon it; the dishonest way is to do it in a covert way, to do it by measures that do not purport to be aimed at contraction. The honest way is the retirement and cancellation of our greenbacks; the dishonest is by piling up money in the Treasury, and this latter is the subtle purpose of some of those who cry for more revenues. Their cry is not honest.

RUSHING THE TARIFF.

THERE is no occasion for any unseemly haste in the passage of a new tariff measure on the score of a low cash balance in the Treasury. As we have elsewhere pointed out, the Government is in no immediate need of an increase of revenues. The deficit is large, but so is the cash balance, and it is doubtful whether, under our present system of financiering, the deficit in revenues will ever so diminish the cash balance as to make an increase in revenues desirable. It goes without saying that a deficit in revenues must cut into the cash balance of the Treasury. It has so cut into it during the past four years, but in connection with keeping up the gold reserve there has grown up a source of accretion to the cash balance in the Treasury entirely independent of revenues. This source of accretion is borrowing, and so active

has it been during the years of Mr. Carlisle's administration of the Treasury that that gentleman was able to hand over a cash balance in the Treasury to Mr. Gage, larger by \$87,000,000 than the cash balance he had received from Mr. Foster. And this, too, in the face of a deficit of revenues averaging but little less than \$50,000,000 for the four years of his administration.

Now clearly, if this source of accretion to the cash balance in the Treasury is to continue in active operation during Mr. Gage's administration of the Treasury, we will have no need of revising our revenue laws with a view to providing the needed moneys to run the Government. And that we will have a periodical accretion of the Treasury cash balance on this score is well within the bounds of probability, we might say, unless we change our fiscal system, almost a certainty.

The cause of this accretion has, of course, been the borrowing of gold to make good a reserve ever and anon depleted by the inroads of those wishing gold for export. To get this gold, greenbacks and Treasury notes have been presented for redemption, and the notes thus gathered have been used to make good the deficits in revenue. Now, the export of gold, the depletion of the gold reserve through redemption of greenbacks and Treasury notes, and the building up of such reserve with borrowed gold, is a phenomenon entirely distinct from questions of revenue. The deficit in revenues cannot be held accountable for gold exports, and, therefore, the depletion of the gold reserve and the borrowing of gold cannot rightly be attributed to such deficits. Indeed, the deficit in revenues is evidence, if it evidences anything, of a curtailment of imports, and hence of custom receipts, and a curtailment of purchases made from abroad should diminish the demand for gold for export.

It is then folly to ascribe the deficit in revenues as the primary cause of gold exports. At most, these recurring deficits can have affected the movement of gold only in so far as they have resulted in putting the money withdrawn from circulation by the bond issues back again into the channels of trade and industry, and thus prevented a contraction of currency and consequent fall in prices, such as might have been expected to check imports and stimulate exports, and which, some argue, would have resulted in building up a favorable merchandise trade balance sufficient to offset the claims of our foreign creditors, and thus put a check to gold exports. That any such results would have followed such contraction can well be doubted, for it is a hard task, under the most favorable circumstances, to build up the value of merchandise exports, and hence their debt-paying power in the face of falling prices, and it is a fool's work for a debtor nation, such as we are, to seek to pay the charges on our foreign debt, and a way out of our difficulties, by putting down prices. To do so is only to increase the burden of our debts.

But this is neither here nor there in the case in point. The point is, that if, all questions of a deficit or surplusage in revenues aside, we are going to build up the cash balance in our treasury by borrowing willy nilly, then we will certainly have no occasion to increase our revenues, for to do so would simply result in taking money out of circulation, to the great detriment of trade and industry, and the locking of it up uselessly in the treasury vaults.

To go further into this dishonest way of bringing about currency contraction is needless here, for we have discussed this phase of the question elsewhere. What concerns us here is simply the probability of the sale of bonds for gold in the near future as bearing on the question of revenues and tariff. That Mr. McKinley will continue the policy of redeeming our greenbacks, our Treasury notes, and, we may safely add, our silver certificates, in gold, cannot be doubted. Nor can it be doubted that a renewed demand for gold for export would fall on the National Treasury, and that in the event of the depletion of the gold reserve Mr. McKinley would replenish it by the sale of bonds.

The question is, then, are such occasions as have led up to the bond issues in the past likely to recur? They are, most

assuredly. There is now a gold reserve in the Treasury of over \$150,000,000. It has been growing for six months. But why is it there, why has it grown? Simply because there has been no demand for gold for export, and because paper currency, for purposes of domestic trade, being more convenient than gold, men have deposited gold in exchange for greenbacks, knowing full well that if they have need of gold in the future they can readily get it without cost by the presentation of these notes for redemption. And thus we see the whole question resolves itself into why the check to gold exports. Take away this check, and gold exports must be renewed, then the gold reserve will be drained away, at length fall to a point below that which our gold idolaters hold it cannot go with safety, and then will come the issue of more bonds.

Is, then, the check to gold exports of a permanent nature? This is the prime question, and to it we must answer, no. Indeed, the combination of circumstances that has led to the check to gold imports is of a most temporary nature. There has been, and is, famine in India; there have been crop failures in Australia, and deficient harvests in Argentine and Russia, and all this has made an extended market and at better prices for our products. As a result, we have found it possible to build up a favorable merchandise trade balance sufficiently large to offset the demands of our foreign creditors. Consequently we have been able to keep our gold.

But we cannot count on a continuance of such favorable circumstances; we may find as favorable factors working for an enlarged market for our products in the event of the breaking out of a general European war, but unless misfortunes continue to overtake mankind in one form or another, while leaving us unscathed, we may expect, in the near future, a return to normal trade conditions, which will mean the resumption of gold exports, the depletion of the gold reserve, and finally a bond issue. So, before the year is out, we may find the cash balance in the Treasury built up by a bond issue, and the balance now available in the Treasury is ample to cover any probable deficit in revenues that may accumulate during the present year. And if a bond issue is made within this time there will be no occasion for any increase of revenues. Clearly, then, in view of the large cash balance in the Treasury—a cash balance, leaving the gold reserve out of the question, of at least \$75,000,000 beyond our needs, and in view of the probability that the cash balance in the Treasury will be added to by borrowing before this \$75,000,000 is exhausted, there is no occasion for providing, at this time, for any increase in revenues. There is no demand for the hasty passage of tariff legislation on this score.

But there is another reason advanced for the prompt passage of the tariff being framed by Mr. Dingley and his associates. It is that this tariff is the harbinger of prosperity. We want prosperity badly, and our producing classes are quite in the humor for some change in policy that will lift the crushing—and too often not understood—burden that has been grinding them down to poverty, and place them again in the path to prosperity which they have been seeking so long in vain.

But because our producing classes need relief, want relief, demand relief, is no reason to rush through Congress some ill-considered tariff bill. To do so would be akin to giving a stone to him who asks for bread. The measure that will bring prosperity must be perfected, must be completed. We must put the keystone in place before we remove the false work from under our arch of prosperity, and time expended in shaping this keystone must not be grudged, for let this keystone be falsely laid, and we will turn out a work that will crumble in upon itself and, in place of bringing renewed prosperity, sink our producing classes, whose hopes of business revival will be shattered, into the depths of despair.

Yet we are told the tariff bill, the measure that is to restore prosperity, is to be rushed through the House as it comes from

the Ways and Means Committee. Members of the House who see imperfections, small or great, are to be given no chance to perfect the bill by amendment. They must vote upon the bill as they find it, they are not to be given the chance to eliminate the bad from the good, they are to be asked to vote for the bad along with the good, or vote against the good along with the bad.

Members of the House of Representatives who see, or fancy they see, imperfections in the bill, who want to add sections without which they believe the measure will be fruitless, or amend schedules so as to protect certain interests, or bring the bill into accordance with true protective principles, must make their appeals in the Senate end of the capitol, there importuning Senators to offer amendments which they were forbidden to offer in the House. And thus is work that should be done in the House thrown upon the Senate. Yet there are already grumblings of impatience over the expected refusal of Senators to make undue and unwise haste in consideration of the bill.

It should further be remembered by those who will be prone to criticise the Senate and assail the Finance Committee of that body if it takes more than a few days for the consideration and amendment of the House bill before reporting it to the Senate, that the similar committee in the House, the Ways and Means Committee, has spent nearly three months of unremitting labor in the framing of the tariff bill that will soon be presented to the House, passed by that body and sent to the Senate. Yet it is expected that the Senate Committee, to which this tariff bill will be referred, can examine, in the course of a few days, the same measure over which the corresponding House Committee has spent months.

What is more, this tariff measure will, beyond a doubt, be sent to the Senate lacking in that which is essential to the completion of any tariff measure that is designed to bring about general trade revival. It will also be lacking, if we may rely on appearances, in many of the features of a protective tariff, while it will, we fear, incorporate others that have no place in the protective system. The object of a protective tariff seems to have been lost sight of, in large measure, in the framing of the bill. The building up of domestic competition and the crushing of the power of foreign monopoly is the aim of a true protective system, and the building up of domestic monopoly, under the shelter of tariff duties, is repugnant to the whole system, for domestic monopoly defeats the very purpose that it is sought to attain through the medium of a protective tariff and the building up of domestic competition.

Yet if we can place credence on current reports, we will find, in the new tariff, protective duties placed on those articles monopolized by trusts and combines organized to repress competition, arbitrarily enhance prices and depress wages, and thus place consumers, forced to pay monopoly prices, and wage-earners to accept monopoly wages under a grievous tribute. To remedy the bill of such defects, to take all protective duties off of articles the production of which is monopolized by trusts and combines, is a work of great magnitude which will fall to the Senate. This work the Senate should do thoroughly and courageously.

Then will fall to the Senate the work of perfecting the bill in its protective features; of seeing that all producers are accorded fair play, and that no interest or section is discriminated against in favor of some other. The greatest difficulty here will be over the protection to be extended to producers of raw products, over the rates of duties to be placed on raw textiles, for it seems the manufacturers regard the tariff as a measure for their own special benefit and grudge any protection to the producers of raw materials. The result is a clash between the producers of wool and flax and the manufacturers of woollens and linens. To straighten out these differences, ever bearing in mind that the purpose of a protective tariff should be to promote the interests of no special class, solely with a view to benefiting the members of that class, but rather to conserve the interests of the whole

people, is a troublesome work that will devolve on the Senate, and, if done thoroughly, will take time.

And then we come to the place for the insertion of the keystone in this measure to restore prosperity and which the House Committee has left vacant. This keystone must be filled in by the Senate. It is better that the whole tariff measure should fail than that it should be passed by the Senate without this keystone, for without this keystone it must prove, if enacted, an ignominious failure. This keystone is that which can alone extend needed protection to our farming classes, give them prosperity and make a market for manufactured goods. Without making this market, it is a waste of energy to protect manufacturers from European competition and stimulate them to enlarge the production of goods for which they can find no market when finished. And the one act that can restore prosperity to our farmers and planters and make this market is the restoration of bimetallism, for that alone can relieve our agriculturists of the handicap under which they now struggle in competition with the silver and paper-using peoples, who enjoy, in the shape of a premium on gold, a bounty on everything they export to gold-using countries.

To sum up, then, there is no occasion for "rushing the tariff" because of any lack of revenue. The Senate, upon which the brunt of the struggle, owing to the rules of the House, that cut off amendments, must fall, should take its time in perfecting and rounding out the measure. And to perfect the measure it must follow three general lines: it must take all duties off products monopolized by domestic combines and trusts; it must see that no undue preference is given to any class or protection extended to any industry for the special benefit of that industry; see that protection is only extended where such protection will conserve the interests of the whole people, and, finally, it must lay the groundwork of all prosperity, the prosperity of our agricultural classes by adding a provision restoring bimetallism.

McKINLEY AND HIS CABINET.

WHEN men are called to preside over the destinies of great nations, and ere we can judge them by their acts, we must measure them by the councillors they summon around them. And so it is that we turn to the selection of Mr. McKinley's cabinet as throwing light upon the character and future of his administration.

We find the light shed upon the purposes of the new administration by the selection of this cabinet quite unmistakable, for it all shines in the same direction; but the rays of light thus shed are not rays of brilliant promise. They point into a gloom which they do not dissipate and in which they are lost, and it is along these lines that we are hastening. We are suffering from low prices, and prices are to be forced lower. We are groaning under the increased burden of debts resulting from the rise in the value of the dollar and the fall in prices, and this burden is to be made heavier. We are witnessing a confiscation of the property of debtors, and the process of confiscation through a still further enhancement of the dollar is to be continued. It is of all this that the selection of Mr. McKinley's cabinet gives promise.

At the head of the cabinet stands Mr. Sherman. He is to guide over our relations with foreign states, though he has won his fame, such as it is, from the part he has taken in shaping the financial policy of our country. He started in a generation ago as the exponent of Americanism. He deprecated the policy of currency contraction inaugurated by Hugh McCulloch. He stood as the protector of the interests of the producing classes and the opponent of the schemes of the creditor classes for their self-aggrandizement.

But a change soon came over Mr. Sherman. From the opponent of a policy of contraction calculated to enhance the value of

the dollar, depress prices and unduly add to the burden of our national, to say nothing of all private, debts, he became the earnest advocate of contraction, of contraction not for America alone, but for the whole world. Thus it was at the Paris monetary conference of 1867, that we find him urging, going out of his way to urge—for he was not a delegate—the demonetization of silver. Indeed, he was instrumental in inducing that conference to declare for the narrowing down of the world's money to the basis of gold, and thus paved the way for the demonetization of silver by Germany in 1871-73, the restriction of silver coinage at the French mints in the latter year, and the closing of our mints to free silver coinage during the early part of the same year,—the closing of our mints being directed by a measure purporting to be a mere codification of our mint laws, fathered by Mr. Sherman, and put through the Senate, practically without debate, on his assurance that it made no change of moment in existing law.

Then, as Secretary of the Treasury under Mr. Hayes, the same Mr. Sherman who had, but a decade before, held that we would fulfill all our obligations to our public creditors by paying our bonds in paper currency and do more than full justice to our creditors, the paper currency having much greater value at the time of the maturing of the bonds than it had at the time it was paid to the Government by the purchasers of the bonds, strove to have all our bonds made payable in gold. In short, as Secretary of the Treasury, he became the full-fledged advocate of everything desired by the moneyed interests, and after his return to the Senate he pursued the same friendly attitude to the creditor classes of Europe and America and antagonism to our producing classes, save when constrained by press of circumstances to make at least the show of bowing to the mandate of those who, suffering grievously from the enhancement of the dollar and fall in prices, rose up ever and anon to voice their protest.

But while bowing, or making an appearance of bowing, before the mandate of our producing classes, when to boldly oppose that mandate would have endangered his political future, Mr. Sherman has at heart been with the advocates of the dear dollar. He has thus brought himself to look through the colored glasses of those whose vision is bounded by Lombard and Wall streets, and who look upon the rest of the world merely as furnishing a source from which to draw tribute. And the interests of these men, who are bent on enriching themselves by increasing the tribute under which the rest of the world lies to them as their debtors, being antagonistic to the interests of our producing classes who are their debtors, Mr. Sherman has come to be the protector of alien interests as opposed to American interests. And so it has come to pass that we have a Secretary of State who must be prone to look upon every question of international difference from the point of view of the moneyed interests of Lombard and Wall streets, which is not how does honor, how do motives of humanity, or how do the interests of the American people demand its settlement, but how will its settlement affect our pockets.

So we may look for a surrender of principle, of national honor, when the pockets of the moneyed interests may be hurt by the pursuit of a bold policy, for we have a Secretary of State who, as shown by his later acts in the Senate, may be expected to put the interests of aliens and those with alien interests ahead of the interests of America in questions of politics, just as he has for years in questions of finance. And having gone thus far in bowing to the dictation of the moneyed interests at home and abroad, we may expect Mr. Sherman to go one step further and take his stand by Mr. Gage in urging the shaping of our tariff system in accord with the views of foreigners. Then the policy of governing our people in accord with the desires of foreigners, of suffering their dictation in matters industrial, as well as financial and political, would be rounded out in the person of Mr. Sherman.

We have, then, in the selection of Mr. Sherman as Secretary

of State, no promise that American interests will be conserved, but quite the reverse,—the promise that the new Administration will pursue, unremittingly, a course calculated to grind down our producing classes to poverty, and build up on their impoverishment the enrichment of the favored few, who feel they are entitled to dictate the policy of the Administration in consideration of the money contributions they made to the Republican campaign, and which they look upon as equivalent to a purchase of Mr. McKinley's election, and the right to dictate the policy of his administration in all matters affecting their interests.

From Mr. Sherman we turn to the Secretary of the Treasury chosen by Mr. McKinley. In Mr. Gage we find exemplified all those qualities, all those trains of thought and expression that we would expect to find in the honestly convinced gold monometallist. He evinces no disposition to hide his purposes, or strive to attain his ends by covert paths. He walks not in those paths of studied deception, which those who see that the policy of currency contraction can only be successfully carried out by blinding our producing classes to the effects of such contraction are prone to follow. In short, he approaches the whole financial question with the courage and outspokenness of the theorist, not the stealth and reserve of the practical politician. He sees what pursuit of the gold standard demands; he does not see that that cannot be attained if presented fairly to the people for their decision, for our producing classes will not knowingly vote their own impoverishment. It is because of this that the practical politician who has lent himself to the schemes of the contractionists strives to hide the true purpose of the currency monopolists, denies that they aim at contraction, and seeks to find some way of accomplishing such contraction without exciting the opposition of those who will be injured by and are opposed to such contraction.

But, as we have said, Mr. Gage has shown none of the cautious reserve of the practical politician. He may later learn to tread the paths of deception. But up to this time he has been outspoken. He sees that adherence to the gold standard demands a contraction of our paper currency and a forcing down of prices to a level so low that our foreign creditors will take our products in preference to our gold. Mr. Gage sees that there is no other possible way of keeping our share of gold. So he urges the destruction of our greenback currency, of our Treasury notes, even of our silver certificates, and the substitution of bank currency, the volume of which, he tells us, could be so controlled and prices kept at such a level as to prevent any extensive drain on our stock of gold. Every time gold exports threatened, the remedy would be contraction and depression of prices.

And depression of prices Mr. Gage, looking through the colored glasses of the creditor classes, would welcome. The further prices fall, he reasons, the better will it be for the creditor classes. He does not stop to think that this fall in prices which he calculates will enrich those with fixed money incomes must impoverish all those engaged in trade and industry, nor does he stop to think that this impoverishment of the producing classes undermines the ability of the debtor classes to pay their indebtedness and presages a cutting off of the incomes of the creditor classes.

So in the long run an appreciating dollar must injure creditors, but men are not in the habit of looking beyond their noses; they live in the present and give no heed to the future, and they are prone to jump at anything that will add to present enjoyment and power, quite content to let the future take care of itself. And so we find Mr. Gage, as the representative of the moneyed interests, standing for currency contraction and low prices, believing that the interests of those classes lie in the direction of a dear dollar.

So in the selection of Mr. Gage as Secretary of the Treasury, we have a promise, as we have in the appointment of Mr. Sherman, that the policy of the new administration will be directed

so as to serve the ends of the moneyed interests, not to conserve the interests of our producing classes. It is not a cheerful promise, but it cannot be mistaken. The policy of the country is to be directed toward the building up of an oligarchy of wealth on the impoverishment of our producing classes. That is what is presaged by the appointment of Messrs. Sherman and Gage to cabinet portfolios.

Of Mr. McKinley's other cabinet appointments, there is less to be said; the places are of minor importance. Yet we find some noteworthy appointments. Mr. Bliss, instrumental in raising a large part of the Republican campaign fund, has been placed at the head of the Interior Department. His views as to our financial system are akin to those of Mr. Gage. He is impelled by his surroundings, his self-interests, by the prejudices born in the counting-rooms of Lombard and Wall streets, to advocacy of the schemes of currency contraction there concocted by men bent on increasing the tribute which they can exact from the debtor classes. So in Mr. Bliss the moneyed interests have a cabinet officer in as thorough accord with them as Mr. Sherman or Mr. Gage.

At the head of the War Department is placed General Alger, of whom the less said the better, and who is capable, we fancy, of shaping his views so as to bring himself into thorough accord with his surroundings. From California comes Judge McKenna, not favorably known by the labor organizations of that State, believed to lean to the side of organized capital, see the aggressions and combinations of centralized capital in a different light than the combinations and overt acts of labor, and trained, as so many of our jurists are, to look upon the vested rights of property as superior to the rights of man. The Attorney-Generalship has fallen to his lot.

Iowa gives us a Secretary of Agriculture, in the person of ex-Congressman Wilson; from Maryland comes our Postmaster-General, Mr. Gary, and from Massachusetts our Secretary of the Navy, ex-Governor Long. These men have yet to stamp themselves as above the average, have yet to make names that will be remembered for blunders and failures or for the initiation of national policies and successes. That they will train with their better known associates seems to go without saying, which implies that they will bow to the imperious demands of the interests centered in Lombard and Wall streets, and never seek to serve the interests of our producing classes, when by so doing they might cross the purposes of our foreign masters. In the new administration the will of the moneyed interests of London and New York is to be done in all things. This is the measure which Mr. McKinley has given to his administration in the selection of his cabinet.

WOMAN'S WAYS.

A CRUST of bread and a corner to sleep in,
A minute to smile and an hour to weep in,
A pint of joy to a peck of trouble,
And never a laugh but the moans come double;
And that is life!

A crust and a corner that love makes precious,
With the smile to warm and the tears to refresh us;
And joy seems sweeter when cares come after,
And a moan is the finest of foils for laughter;
And that is life!

—Paul Lawrence Dunbar.

The happiest moments of one's life are spent in thinking over pleasant times that have occurred, or anticipating those which are to come.

Don't forget that your friends can hardly be expected to share your own absorbing interest in your infants.

Housekeepers whose nails break easily should never stir anything on the hot stove without first slipping on a loose glove. The dry heat from the fire makes the nails brittle.

"No matter what a girl's accomplishments may be, her edu-

cation is incomplete if she has not some knowledge of bake-ology, boil-ology, roast-ology, stitch-ology and mend-ology. Even if she should never be required to do the work herself she ought to know whether it is done in the right way?" This is from the sermon of a New York clergyman.

An oculist writes: "On street and railway cars, in libraries, schools, offices, homes, everywhere, eyes are unnecessarily tried, with the result that half the world is in glasses years before the need should arise. It is so usual a thing now for persons to be afflicted with ocular headaches, that when a physician's advice is sought for a persistent and unexplained headache the patient is first turned over to an oculist. Nine times out of ten defective vision sufficient to produce the disturbance is found, and seven times out of ten the sufferer is the victim of his own want of care in the use of his eyes. Women are frequent sinners in this respect. They protect their complexion in every possible way, while to the delicate organ of sight they give never a thought till the mischief is done."

"The boys of the Nation, the Indian, the negro, have all received educational opportunities, the arts and sciences have been promoted, but woman and her natural colleague, domestic science, have been apparently forgotten. The elevation of domestic science to its proper place among the other sciences will do much to dispel the poverty, drudgery and disease which are the results of ignorance, and which in so many homes rob woman's heart of happiness and life of its brightness. Thrift will dispel poverty, but thrift is both knowledge and training. Drudgery encourages stupidity, and drudgery can be lightened only by the application of science to domestic labor, while disease feeds on the ignorance of woman despite the doctor's learning.—Mrs. Sallie A. Cotton.

Women are to-day engaged in almost every professional employment. As lawyers, physicians, civil engineers, musicians, actors, and authors, they have not only shown their ability to cope with men, but, in numerous instances, they have risen to the very highest round of the professional ladder. But what progress has the sex achieved in commercial and industrial lines?

This question is easily answered. In 1870 there were 19,828 women in the United States who earned their living as stenographers, clerks, bookkeepers, cashiers, telegraph-operators, and so forth; but to-day, through such developments of modern progress as the telephone and the typewriter, there are no less than 250,000 women employed in the various departments of trade and commerce. In mechanical and manufacturing pursuits, the progress of the sex is equally as manifest. Without multiplying figures, there are five times as many women bookbinders to-day as there were in 1870; four times as many boot and shoemakers; and seven times as many employed in box-making. Between 1870 and 1890 over 400,000 names were added to the list of milliners in this country. In 1870 there was not a single woman engaged in the manufacture of lace, according to the census of that year, while in 1890 there were 4,435. In 1890 there were 2,000 women employed in the pottery business, 16,000 in shirt-making establishments, 25,000 in silk manufacturing, and 28,000 in tobacco industries. Altogether, the progress made by women between the years 1870 and 1890 in mechanical and industrial lines shows a net gain of nearly 800,000 occupations. So far as government positions are concerned, there is not a single department of the service in which women are not found, except in the army and navy.

A CHAPTER ABOUT CHILDREN.

SOMETHING to live for came to the place,
Something to die for, maybe,
Something to give even sorrow a grace—
And yet it was only a baby!

Cooing and laughter and gurgles and cries,
Dimples for tenderest kisses,
Chaos of hopes and of raptures and sighs,
Chaos of fears and of blisses.

Last year, like all years, the rose and the thorn;
This year a wilderness, maybe;
But heaven stooped under the roof on the morn
That it brought there only a baby.

—Harriet Prescott Spofford.

The mother says that this child is nervous. He should

never hear this said of himself. He will soon learn to use the expression as an excuse for naughtiness. Train him to regular habits of life, secure for him simple, wholesome food, see that he gets plenty of sleep, that his nerves are not disturbed by teasing by others, and in all probability he will cease to manifest nervousness, especially if he never hears older people talk about being nervous.

Professor Zanker, the famous Orientalist, one day received the copy of an inscription which a friend and admirer of his declared he had found in a mediæval tome. The sender asked him to decipher the mysterious extract, promising to forward the valuable old MS. as soon as he got it from its owner, a relative of his. The inscription ran as follows:

UOY ERA WOH ROSSEFORP GNINROM DOOG.

For three days the Professor puzzled his brains without making any sense of it. Then his little son, a fourth-form boy, came into his father's study and spied the strange writing on the desk. After looking at it for a while he asked his father since when had he taken to writing backwards.

"What do you mean?" said the astonished professor.

"Why," replied the lad, "if you read this from right to left it runs thus, 'Good morning, professor, how are you?'"

Dr. C. A. Clinton, of San Francisco, writes:—"A good deal has been said about the evils of cigarette smoking, but one-half the truth has never been told. Cigarette smoking blunts the whole moral nature. It has an appalling effect upon the system. It first stimulates and then stupefies the nerves. It sends boys into consumption. It gives them enlargement of the heart, and it sends them to the insane asylum. I am physician to several boys' schools, and I am often called in to prescribe for palpitation of the heart. In nine cases out of ten, it is caused by the cigarette habit. I have seen bright boys turned into dunces and straightforward, honest boys made into miserable cowards by cigarette smoking. I am speaking the truth, that nearly every physician and nearly every teacher knows."

WORDS OF WISDOM.

Beautiful hands are those that do
Work that is earnest and brave and true,
Moment by moment the long day through.

"What will people think?" is a lash that makes us cower too often and too long.

To read and not to know is to plough and not to sow.

He that resolves to mend hereafter, resolves not to mend now.—*Poor Richard.*

When we have a keen eye for the faults of others, we are prone to be blind to our own.

If new difficulties arise we must only put forth new exertions, and proportion our efforts to the exigency of the times.—*Washington.*

Poverty makes cowards of us all; but continued too long may make us bold and fearless, or even desperate.

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.—*Abraham Lincoln.*

No life is worthy and noble that has no "must" in it—that is not ready to bow its most cherished schemes or its fondest wishes to the ever-present authority of the still, small voice.

If you wish to be miserable, you must think about yourself, about what you want, what you like, what respect people ought to pay you; and then to you nothing will be pure. You will spoil everything you touch, you will make sin and misery for yourself out of everything which God sends you; you will be as wretched as you choose.—*Charles Kingsley.*

MANUFACTURERS AND WOOL-GROWERS.

Judge Lawrence, President of the National Wool-Growers' Association, Discusses the Woolen Schedules of the New Tariff.—

Demands a Tariff Considerate of Wool-Growers as Well as Manufacturers.—May Be Forced to Choose Between Free Silver and Inadequate Protection.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN:

DEAR SIR:—I infer from copies of THE AMERICAN which I have received, that you are in favor of the fulfillment of the promise of the Republican National Platform of 1896 for wool-growers—"the most ample protection." I am in favor of this, and the fulfillment of the other pledge in favor of international bimetalism. There are in the United States about 36,000,000 sheep. We need 110,000,000 to supply all wool of every kind required for American consumption. An increase of the needed 74,000,000 would make such an increased demand for pasturage, hay, corn and oats, as to give prosperity to our agricultural industries, and thence to all others. With "the most ample protection," this can be had in five years.

But some—the controlling element—of the Eastern wool manufacturers are disposed to drive the wool-growers to the wall.

At the recent conference between wool-growers and wool manufacturers at Washington, D. C., February 9-11, 1897, the wool manufacturers proposed as the highest rates of duty they would aid in securing as follows:

"1. On class one, wools of the value of 16 cents per pound or less, a duty of 8 cents per pound; on wools over 16 cents per pound, 10 cents duty; double on washed; treble on scoured. The rate in the McKinley act of 1890 was 11 cents per pound, without any dividing line as to value, double on washed, treble on scoured.

"2. On class two, wools of the value of 16 cents per pound or less, 9 cents per pound; on wools over 16 cents in value, 11 cents per pound duty. But these wools to come in at these rates washed, treble duty if scoured. The rate in the McKinley act was 12 cents, in same way, treble if scoured.

"3. On class three wools, the ad valorem rates of the act of 1890, on wools valued at 13 cents per pound or less, 32 per cent., and 50 per cent. over that value."

The committee of the National Wool-Growers' Association, by a unanimous vote, declined to agree to these rates.

Under such a tariff, no wool of any consequence would be imported of classes 1 and 2, of the value of 16 cents or over, and none of class 3, of the value of 13 cents or more. Thus the duty on classes 1 and 2 would in practice be only 8 cents per pound.

The committee of wool manufacturers required that all wools should be imported "skirted" without any additional duty. This would add about 3 cents per pound to the value of all foreign Merino wool imported, and by so much, reduce the 8 cents duty to 5 cents.

The skirting adds to the value of the wool because:

1. It to a large extent saves the cost of sorting—an expense of at least 3-4 of a cent per pound.

2. By rejecting the skirts or inferior portions of the fleece, the skirted part to be imported into the United States is rendered more valuable.

An editorial in the New York Weekly Tribune of Feb. 17, properly says:

The skirting clause of the McKinley Act of 1890 was made the means of defeating the plain object of the law to a large extent.

Governor Rich, of Michigan, in a speech at the Chicago World's Fair, said that the effect of the "skirting clause" was:

To let in wool worth quite as much as Ohio washed fleece at a duty of only 11 cents per pound, when if it come in whole fleeces washed it would pay 22 cents per pound. So that on fine wool there is little if any more than one half the protection intended by the law.

On merino wool, the low duty of 8 cents proposed by manufacturers, would not give a protective benefit of 4 cents per pound on Ohio washed merino, in competition with skirted Australian merino shrinking about 50 per cent. in scouring. Our unwashed American merino shrinks in scouring 66⅔ per cent. per pound.

On merino wools west of the Missouri river the protective benefit would not be two cents per pound. The duties now should be more than under the McKinley Act, for two reasons:

1. The world's prices of wools have largely declined since 1890; the lower the world's price the higher is the duty needed.

2. When a tariff is put on, foreign wools will decline in price to get into our markets. Justice, Bateman & Co., say the foreign price will soon decline 6 cents per pound, down as low as it has been twice in the past few years. The manufacturers'

proposed rates are very little better than free wool. They would ruin our wool industry.

The purpose of the wool tariff in the McKinley act of 1890 was in a large measure defeated (1) by the "skirting clause," permitting skirted wool to come in without additional charges. It was defeated (2) by the fraudulent ad valorem duties, and (3) by the light shrinkage of Australian merino, and (4) by the decline in the world's prices of wools since 1890.

The bill, as reported by McKinley, had no ad valorem duty. These and the "skirting clause" were put on against the wishes of wool growers, by the influence of wool manufacturers.

Need of Higher Duties Than Under the McKinley Act.

Theodore Justice, in a letter dated January 16, 1897, said:

"In the last twenty-four years 1873-1896, the production of wool, measured on the clean-scoured basis, in the different countries of the Southern Hemisphere, increased very greatly. The increase in Australia has been 200,000,000 pounds of scoured wool, equal to 182 per cent; in the River-Plate country, 70,000,000 pounds, equal to 87 per cent, and in Cape of Good Hope, 14,000,000 pounds, equal to 43.75 per cent.

"Taking the entire production of all these countries, the clip in 1873 yielded 230,000,000 pounds; in 1890, 390,000,000 pounds, and in 1896, 500,000,000. The increase from 1873 to 1896 was 117 per cent. In consequence of the increase in the supply the price of wool fell off 54 per cent. As there is every indication that this rapid increase in the production of wool in the wool belt of the Southern Hemisphere will continue, a corresponding decrease in the price seems inevitable.

The lower the price of wool the greater is the need of enlarged protection. Since compromise has failed, the wool growers should now insist on at least 5 cents per pound additional duty on Australian unwashed merino, because it is of lighter shrinkage than American unwashed. The Montana Wool Growers' Association, since the failure of the compromise on February 15, has resolved in favor of increased duties on unwashed Australian. Their resolve declares: "That all skirted and sorted wools shall be subject to the same duties as washed wools." Let wool growers now insist on this as necessary and just.

An eminent New York State wool merchant, writing me February 23, says:

"1. I consider wools that are 'skirted' worth fully 20 per cent. more than unskirted.

"2. About 40 per cent. imported as carpet wools are used in the manufacture of clothing goods

"3. While the manufacturer of clothing goods obtains only about 30 to 35 per cent. clean wools from imported South American or Cape of Good Hope merino, the importer of carpet wools gets 80 to 90 per cent. of second wool.

"4. Hence the clean wool from 100 pounds of carpet wool is worth often more than the scoured wool from 100 pounds of the South American or Cape merino. Hence should pay as much duty as merino.

"I have a letter from a Russian wool dealer who proposes to skirt and dry his carpet wool and guarantee it not to shrink over 15 per cent. in scouring.

"5. The merino wools of South America and Cape of Good Hope shrink in scouring an average of 67 per cent. The Australian imported into this country only from 42 to 50 per cent.

"If all wools except Australian should be made dutiable at 10 cents per unwashed pound, the Australian should pay 15 cents, and if the duty on others be 12 cents, Australian should be 17 cents."

The Duty the Wool Growers Should Now Ask.

At the conference, on motion of Hon. Calvin Cowgill, ex-member of Congress, of Wabash, Ind., the National Wool Growers' Association proposed, as the lowest rates of duty to which they would agree, duties as follows:

"1. On wools of the first and second class a duty of 12 cents per pound, double on washed, and treble on scoured.

"2. On third-class wool, sometimes called carpet wool, but largely used in manufacturing of clothing goods, a duty of 8 cents a pound, as they now compete with and supplant the use of merino and down wool. Double if washed, treble if scoured."

[The wool growers ask this rate now on all third-class wools, because they compete with our merinos and long wools in the manufacturing of clothing goods.]

"3. An additional duty of 3 cents per unwashed pound on all skirted wool."

This was indorsed by a vote of the National Wool Growers' Association unanimously, except one dissenting vote. This was offered only by way of compromise, and would not now be agreed to by the wool growers.

The committee of wool manufacturers declined to assent to the rates of duty proposed by the wool growers, and the conference of the committees adjourned *sine die*.

The wool growers will now demand the duties stated, and, in addition, 5 cents per *unwashed* pound on the light shrinking Australian merino, and, at least, 3 cents per unwashed pound additional on the light shrinking cross-bred wools.

The Boston *Commercial Bulletin*, of February, 27 says that South American cross-bred wool is being largely sold in the United States, and that:

"One of the buyers boasted that his $\frac{3}{8}$ blood cross-breds would cost him but 26½ cents clean (scoured) at his mill, and he did not exaggerate."

Every pound of this, with its light shrinkage, will supplant two pounds of unwashed merino; and it will require three pounds of average unwashed American merino to make one clean, or scoured, pound. Hence the free wool price per pound of South American and Cape merino in competition with the cross-bred, would be only one-third of 26½, or 8.83 cents in Boston, leaving farm or ranch value for this merino, without tariff, only at most 6 cents per pound. A duty of 12 cents, plus 3 cents, would only make the farm value in Ohio about 20 cents per pound; and the ranch value of "far West" wools, worth about 4 cents per pound less than Ohio, would only be about 16 cents.

No Monopoly.

A moderate tariff can never aid a trust or monopoly in wool. There never has been any combine among American producers to put up prices. There never can be.

What Then?

The wool manufacturers may defeat those moderate wool tariff duties. And then, what?

It is now demonstrated that:

1. A change of 25,000 votes in six States carried in favor of McKinley in the recent election by a very small majority would have resulted in the election of Bryan.

2. A sufficient number of *Free-Silver* Republicans (Republicans who favored Bryan's policy of free silver), voted for McKinley because they deemed his promised "most ample protection for wool" more important than free silver.

The conclusion may be drawn from this, that if the Republicans in Congress fail to give this "most ample protection" a sufficient number of free-silver Republicans may be unwillingly driven away from the Republican party two years hence, to elect a free-silver majority in the house of Representatives in Washington, and four years hence to elect a free-silver candidate for the Presidency. For myself I would regret this, but it is well that we should recognize conditions as they are and are to be.

An eminent Republican wool dealer of Philadelphia—Theodore Justice—in a letter November 9, 1896, said:

"The wool growers were tempted by the proposition that Bryan's election meant a premium of fifty per cent. or more upon gold, which would be equivalent to that *much tariff protection*, as the duties as well as the cost of importing wool would be payable in gold, but they never forgot that Bryan voted for the Wilson bill"—free wool.

This kind of protection cannot be evaded, while an *ad valorem* duty on wool can. A protection of fifty per cent. which cannot be evaded is worth more than seventy per cent. *ad valorem*, which perjury can readily reduce nearly one-half.

It is a singular fact that most of the wool exports from the United States in the last fiscal year went to Mexico—a free silver country.

A dispatch from the City of Mexico, December 2, 1896, says:

"The Government will stick to the silver standard as being, in the opinion of the administration, the one best adapted to this country and as affording it at the present rate of exchange [100 per cent.] an immense protection to home industry, while at the same time securing for exports a gold premium which operates as a bounty to tropical planters."

The Philadelphia *Iron and Steel Bulletin*, a Republican Protectionist journal, on November 20, 1896, very judiciously admonished Republicans by saying:

"There is a sentiment back of the greenbacks, and BACK OF SILVER ALSO, which must be respected."

I am distinctly, emphatically, opposed to free silver under present conditions, and believe in the Republican policy of international bimetalism. Much as I would regret to see wool growers go over to free silver, yet it will be a proof of prudence to do them justice, and save the danger of such condition.

WILLIAM LAWRENCE,

President of the National Wool Growers' Association.
BELLEFONTAINE, Ohio.

BOOK REVIEWS.

CHUN TI-KUNG, His Life and Adventures. By Claude A. Rees. London: W. Heinemann.

A hundred and thirty years ago a book was published which everybody knows by name and a few old-fashioned folk are not ashamed to confess that they love it and read it still. It is supposed to be a novel as is "*Chun Ti-Kung*," if we believe its title page, but Oliver Goldsmith's unfailing judgment and modesty announced "*The Vicar of Wakefield*" as "a Tale," and thereby placed it permanently ahead of the artificial elaborations that bear the Frenchified name of novels. The age of simplicity has departed, dragging with it the better half of life's sweetest delights, the unspoiled taste for natural charms and child-like heartiness in getting keenest pleasure out of simplest sources. Once in a way, when one's vagrant lucky star is momentarily in the ascendant, something chances to rekindle the old memories to stir the moribund longings for a return to the happy days of Arcadie. It may be a dream-picture in the soaring clouds, or the turning-up of an old letter, or the hazard of some book, oftener picked from a second-hand shelf than fresh published. Let the magic spell be this or that, if it wafts us only for the day or the hour above and beyond the environment of the rigorous grindstone, it comes as a rare godsend to us poor victims of Progress. What surer spell is there so handy to transport us away out of these rampageous city crowds, into quite as wicked but infinitely nicer assortments of humanity, than "*The Vicar*," and, alas, what more hopeless delusion than to expect our candy-surfeited young folk to condescend to read it? Homeliest of tales, simple character and incident, dreadfully inconsistent and amateurish, yet its transparent truthfulness to nature and its artless art endeared it to Sir Walter Scott, to Macaulay, and even to the great foreigner, Goethe, as not only "one of the best novels ever written," but as a story which, in Scott's words, "we read in youth and in age; we return to it again and again, and bless the memory" of its author.

All this rambling talk is not from but toward our patiently waiting "*Chun Ti-Kung*." Its name rings as a thrice welcome echo of the "*Vicar*." And did not Goldsmith give us another delicious Chinaman in his "*Citizen of the World*" the best pig-tail hero in all our literature—until the advent of Chun Ti-Kung? Goldsmith's Altangi is a wonderfully shrewd and lovable fellow, albeit a very home-made English-Irish article, but Chun Ti-Kung beats him hollow as the genuine thing. We have high poetical authority for knowing that the wise smile of the heathen Chinese is child-like and bland. The ocean depth of complacent craftiness which that sweet baby smile veils, lies yet unfathomed by occidental science. Glimpses into the still waters we get through what scraps of native romance reach us in stiff translations, but not until this simple tale about Chun Ti-Kung whisked us right into the heart of interior China had we any true grasp of Chinese life, character, and what artists express by "local color." Hack-novelists have worked-up every place on the wide earth except China. The grim wall of their own ignorance bars the literary poachers out of this domain, thank goodness. At last we possess a real Chinaman in veritable Chinese surroundings. To make the photograph, a long-trained operator was needed, with the skill of an acute observer and the eye of an artist. In the author of this book we get precisely this blend of man. No one would have been more genuinely surprised than he, so we cannot help thinking, at being told that with these invaluable qualities he combined a literary gift so rare, so alluring, as to be comparable first and foremost with that of him who gave us the ever-charming "*Vicar of Wakefield*."

We have to speak in the past tense, for the author died two years ago. After some forty years of merchant life in Shanghai and the inland villages, Mr. Rees was, fortunately for English-speaking people, inspired to concentrate his large experience, his remarkable knowledge of Chinese nature and a rich store of varied incidents, traits, humors and quaint conceits into this book, which should not be called a novel, because it is less and more. But there is probably selling-virtue in the name, and if so, good luck to the misnomer. This is only the second book in over a year that has compelled the reading of every word in it, though picked up just when the necessary hours were due to more exacting tasks. There was, first, the novelty of subject, extra tempting since our recent sight of the inscrutable visaged Li Hung (un-Hung, let us hope,) Chang, interesting as having dodged, by timely flight, the noose of Gen. Gordon in his pious fury. Second, there was the fascinating sense of finding oneself transplanted right into the midst of the rich Changs and poor Changs,

with the lawful Mrs. Changs and otherwise, and the flocks of kiding Changs. Third, there was the style of the telling, the genuine hundred-and-thirty year old vintage bouquet, indescribable, because so subtle and quiet. New wine burns its newness into the palate, which scarcely catches the flavor of mellow wine before it is gone. This book holds the reader by its story and simple narrative style, but its rare literary beauty, independent of the tale, only comes fully upon us after the book is closed.

As we have said before, the artless art of Goldsmith adorns this story, and with peculiar fitness, as no other style would so effectively suit and illustrate the Chinese characteristics. The tale might be described as an X-ray revelation of universal man in his Chinese aspect, or of our friend Li Hung Chang himself, by the authors of *Ecclesiastes* and the Solomonized books, through the genial mediumship of Goldsmith's penholder. But though the preaching comes in plentifully between the lines, we don't see or hear the preacher. There is no wearisome flourishing of super-fine language, no baffling Wagnerization of the few simple notes with which true genius can draw tears or fire the spirit, as in the grand old ballads and "Messiah" choruses. Mere plot and trick are forgotten, are not wanted, so interesting is the quiet flow of events which chronicle the history of a plain man's body and mind.

As the author is no more, and his name is unknown on the bookshelves, and his book not very attractively entitled, it is proper to step outside the beaten track for this once to supplement a review with a piece of information helpful to the reader. Several gentlemen of high position, American and English, including Sir C. Clementi-Smith, K. G., C. M. G., formerly Governor of Singapore, have written of this book that only old residents in China can fully appreciate the wonderful fidelity of the portraiture, the "extraordinary and accurate knowledge of Chinese life, and not only that, but of Chinese modes of thought and motives of action." So esteemed was the author by his friends among the natives that he was presented with the red umbrella of honor, a tribute which speaks of the thoroughness of his understanding of Chinese character, as few foreigners are taken so closely into the native heart. It provokes impatient grief to find good men, the unconscious possessors of gifts which less modest writers would have won fame with, dying all unaware of the legacy of profitable pleasure they have bestowed on a public that would gladly have comforted their last hours with loving appreciation unstintedly given.

Extracts humorous, analytic, pathos deepening into the tragic, might be taken almost at random, but the reader must not be deprived of the pleasure of tracing the development of the story for himself. This little picture of Chinese village life illustrates the author's gift for conveying the effect of a large canvas upon a small panel with a few master-touches of the brush:

"The Chinese peasant of the Central Provinces is probably one of the happiest and most contented mortals under the sun. It is admitted that his taxes, levied for the most part in grain for the Imperial Government, and increased by an equal amount that passes into mandarin pockets, are heavy; that in the event of any disturbance the rioters are tortured and punished severely; and that their work is hard and continuous, excepting during the extremely cold weather.

"Still the ground repays the constant cultivation spent on it. At their work you always find the laborers chatting and laughing, and with many leisure minutes to spare for any unusual sight or incident. After work they adjourn to their tea-shops, and engage in dominoes or in animated discussions on the topics of the day, gathered from the "Shenpaou" or "Hupao," read out to them by some poor student so reduced in circumstances that he is glad of the tea given by the tea-shop proprietor, and the cash subscribed for the interpretation of what is unintelligible to some of his hearers, as an addition to what he earns from teaching the few pupils he can find in the village.

"The women, after their field work is over, return to their homes and children, and many merry games are played. The younger men, who have not yet learned the lesson of not doing more than is absolutely necessary, join in, and on summer evenings there reigns an appearance of relaxation and content. Perhaps, during the season, kite-flying is one of the games that attracts most attention amongst all generations, and a fight of kites is really exciting. The kites are wonderfully made and in innumerable patterns—ladies, mandarins, butterflies, beetles, and perhaps the best of all, centipedes, and attain an immense height. In the fight, great skill has to be exercised to obtain the victory, which consists in bringing the string of one kite in contact with the string of its opponent at such an angle as to cut the string, when the defeated kite falls ignominiously to the ground, and many high words and explanations pass between the respective owners. A tale-teller comes round, and during the hot nights you may find half the village seated around him listening to his story for hours, the monotony being occasionally broken by the introduction of some well-known song or quotation, in which the listeners show their appreciation by murmuring the words in a sort of chorus. Their fairs, on certain fixed dates, attract great crowds, and a general feeling of jollity pervades them, and the visits to the temple, that is generally in the neighborhood. At China New Year time for a fortnight or three weeks, nothing is thought of but visiting, feasting, and good wishing. The best clothes are all brought

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out of their boxes, and if you have not a good garment to your name, you go to a pawnshop and get the loan of one for a day or two for a consideration. The Ethiopian indeed does change his skin, for at times you may meet your coolie in the street and mistake him for a rich man! It is a sad fact to realize that such an industrious and energetic population should be ground down to a simple hand-to-mouth existence by excessive taxation, but, as I began by saying, they are not unhappy in their lives.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE. By Professor Keasbey. New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Lindley Miller Keasbey, Professor of Political Science, Bryn Mawr College, has written a political history of transit between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by canal that has great value, especially at this time, when European nations strive to hamper the growth and influence of the United States. The work is well done, it bears evidence of careful research and knowledge of both political and economic questions, upon the proper solution of which must depend the greatness of the American people. Professor Keasbey belongs to the school of American economists who understand that political independence depends upon financial and industrial independence, and he does not hesitate to make it clear that he has no respect for that class of our citizens who call themselves "business men," ready at all times to sacrifice country, manhood and honor for dollars.

The title of his book, "The Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine," needs no explanation. The imperative need of having a waterway over the Isthmus between North and South America is made manifest.

With some of Professor Keasbey's conclusions in the discussion of the economic aspects of the canal we cannot agree. He says; "Raw materials and manufactured goods both go to make up the import trade of the Eastern countries," and then speaks of the importation of petroleum and cotton into China and Japan as though America's only competitors were Russia for the former, and India for the latter. The importation of both will soon cease, for the Chinese have discovered large and productive fields of oil territory, which they are now developing, and they have the power to increase the supply of native cotton to almost any amount required. The quality of the Chinese cotton is being improved rapidly by both planting and cultivation—the building of numerous mills in China and Japan, equipped with the most improved American and European machinery, having made a demand for grades of cotton not heretofore in demand. This great development of cotton manufacture has been brought about by the bounty on exports and high tariff on imports that comes from the demonetization of silver by Europe and America.

Professor Keasbey's discussion of "The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty" is comprehensive and, at the same time, compact. The part of President Buchanan, when this treaty was under review, is better understood by reading this book than it has been. It is hard to understand how diplomats could be guilty of the stupidity they exhibited. Professor Keasbey says, "After Clayton's and Buchanan's unfortunate estoppel we had no case, and it was foolish to try to construct one, only to have it broken down, and thus add another victory to our adversary's long list. Far better would it have been for us to have cried peccavi as to the past, and still insisted upon our national rights under the Monroe doctrine, simply as a matter of self-preservation. Our interests had been right all along, but we had possessed neither the force nor the determination to follow where they led. In trying to avoid an inevitable issue with Great Britain, our statesmen had committed one diplomatic blunder after another, until it was impossible for us to disentangle ourselves. In trying to do so, Blaine and Frelinghuysen only drew the cords the tighter." We are glad to find that Professor Keasbey advocates the Government ownership of the canal. The publishers' part of the work is done as well as it could be done.

This work of Professor Keasbey places him among historians of the first class, and among economists of the American school. He believes in America for America, and he does not hesitate to say so in a manly way. He will, no doubt, do good service in the great struggle in which the American people are now engaged.

CHRISTIANITY AND IDEALISM. By John Watson, LL. D. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.25

Though numbered as the second, this is actually the first volume published of a series projected by the Philosophical Union of the University of California, treating of the relations of the Christian ideal to the Greek and Jewish faiths and to the conflicting philosophies of the day. Independently of the complex nature of the subject, which the author admits is inadequately

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presented, there is the fundamental difficulty of professing a philosophical consideration of any problem in the absence of clear definitions. Thus, we are left in doubt as to what is the author's precise meaning when he speaks of "the Christian Ideal based upon a study of the synoptic gospels, as read in the light of modern historical and philosophical criticism." These be oceanic words for vastness and unrest and chameleonic color. Which is the one ideal that excludes all others as wrong? Whose is the infallible interpretation of gospels which refuse to harmonize into any single chord? The final word of criticism, verbal, historical or fanciful, who has spoken it? Where is it to be found between the lids of a single book or within the four walls of a single ecclesia? The essential vagueness of what, without intending disrespect, we must regard as amateur philosophizing, and its only success in further confounding the already sufficiently confused, may be better indicated in the author's own words than by an extended criticism. He states that his purpose, and the value of it, in this work, is "the attempt to reconcile the reality of individual things, and especially the freedom and individuality of man, with the fundamental principle of Idealism, that the actual, properly understood, is a manifestation in various degree of one self-conscious and self-determining spiritual Being." The plain truth about this estimable writer's failure, in common with the failure of the whole tribe of metaphysical crutch-makers for a healthy Christianity which really needs no such fussy aid, is this, they mistake a life for a theory. Philosophy is the helpless cripple that sorely needs shaking up into practical co-operation with Christian reality in every-day reform work. Literary criticism is at least a substantial thing and does something, which cannot be seriously harmful, but the sending up of brain balloons to get lost among the moonlit clouds, is a bitter satire on the idealistic conception of the plain teachings of the Doer of good to all men.

ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

Those whose enviable mental constitution enables them to see pleasure in paying for the misery of remaining still and silent while a lot of people, dressed in somebody else's clothes, let off somebody else's talk for three mortal hours at a stretch, have probably enjoyed the prolonged agony of the play (!) called "The Sign of the Cross." Crowds are turned away daily and nightly wherever the tortures of the persecuted Christians under Nero are exhibited in a framework of sensuous entertainment. Women find it a lovely mixture of fascinating romance and horror, and weep their delight in the serene conviction that somehow or other their high-hatted patronage of the mummery show is akin to an act of piety. We speak from the inside, having weakly given in to the author's urgent wish that we should see its original representation.

Not only has the piece made a large fortune already for its clever and shrewd owner, but the ever-obliging clergy of England and America have rushed forward with their testimonials to the hitherto unsuspected virtue of the theatre as a means of grace. The publication in book-form of this sacred melodrama, with its comic episodes, followed as a matter of course, and we await with impatience the advertisements of popularity-hunting parsons who will declaim scenes from St. Wilson Barrett's great "Sign of the Cross," instead of their own tame sermons. What interests this column most is the curious similarity between this acted and printed play, and the truly great historical novel by Henryk Sienkiewicz, so misleadingly entitled "Quo Vadis." This work stands as the true presentment of the terrible sufferings of the Christians in the days of Peter and Paul and the evil Nero. It was written and published in Poland. Perhaps Madame Modjeska spoke of it to the English actor, who certainly seems to have stolen a march on the English translation. It is one of the wonders of authorship that two such books should co-exist as "Quo Vadis," the first-born, and the "Sign of the Cross," the Jacob who grabbed the other's birthright.

There are plenty of literary coincidences besides plagiarisms that have a much nicer interest. In one of his novels, everybody except the writer of this knows which, Thackeray invented a wildly improbable incident to help him out with his plot. It was a stage coach accident, which smashed the sword-box that projected from the back, and in this broken box was found the long-missing will which had been searched for everywhere in vain. The critics dropped heavily on the author for this far-

fetched device, but it happened that within twelve months of the publication of the novel a real coach really upset in a real country road and a real will peeped out from a rip in the lining, where it had been hidden, and the finding of it really changed the fortunes of two families. The matter came out as ordinary news in the papers, and no soured critic seems to have suggested that perhaps Thackeray himself furnished the coach, the accident, the missing will, and the fickle fortune, to vindicate his prophetic soul.

Sam Weller somewhere tells a story of a mad muffin-eater, who in a fit of sheer peevishness blew out his brains because he could no longer blow himself out on muffins. It was taken to be one of Dickens' flights of absurd imagination, and perhaps it was, but, nevertheless, there is a true story of that kind told in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. If Dickens got it there it was, of course, no coincidence. Edison, the inventor, who is belittled by the title of wizard, may be surprised to learn that the telegraph was conceived, if not worked out by one Strada, a worthy writer who died in 1649, and whose learned "Pro-lusions" were reviewed by Addison—the literary namesake, no doubt, of Edison—in the *Spectator*. He quotes Strada's story of two languishing lovers who held sweet communion with each other by the medium of electric telegraph, magnet, dial, and letters all complete. Of course Addison laughed at the thing as the height of lunatic fancy. But our fathers used to make us youngsters toy telephones more decades ago than we care to count.

Bearing on occasional remarks in this place upon the very ridiculous humbug of log-rolling between reviewers and authors, it is worth noting that several popular English novelists have been sounded on the matter. Ian Maclaren says he gets no real help from his critics; how could he, if they are honest? Hall

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Caine thinks he does not owe the sale of a single thousand copies of his book to friendly reviewers, but he is friendly to them in saying so. David Christie Murray is more outspoken and impartial.

He writes:

"Criticism in the lump is hopelessly incompetent or incurably dishonest. The fact that there are many most capable and most honorable men and women engaged in criticism is fully present to my mind. But when these are weighed against the venal, the incapable, the hysteric, and the feeble overfriendly, they kick the beam. There are journals whose sole *raison d'être* is that they offer flagrant and shameless advertisement to the wares of their proprietors. They carry weight with the public, and their judgment has made reputations. The shame of criticism used to be in the stupidity of cruelty. It derided Wordsworth and Keats and Tennyson. It declared when the 'Christmas Carol' was printed that Mr. Dickens would not increase his reputation by this flimsy little volume. It did many monumental things in that line. Nowadays the pendulum has taken its swing, and if we are in search of 'men of genius,' why 'every week—nay, day—brings forth a new one.' Five living gentlemen have 'rivalled or surpassed Sir Walter,' and uncounted 'masterpieces' perish miserably (in spite of laudatory howlings) in a year. Perhaps a score of journals offer a real aid to judgment. Hundreds more are quite outside the sphere of sordid influences, but are manned by people who follow the lead of the critics whose business it is to make false coin pass for true."

The parading of superfluous wealth, usually inherited or ill-gotten, has been generally recognized as the cropping out of innate vulgarity. A surprising effort to dignify this essential snobbery is now to be made by Hubert Howe Bancroft, who caused the compilation of the valuable "History of the Pacific States," which bears his name. Observe that he makes his millionaire customers pay stiffly for the glorification he seeks to confer on them. His enterprise is entitled "The Book of Wealth," in which the author attempts to show what has been accomplished by wealth from the earliest times to the present day. The book appropriately addresses itself to the man of wealth; the ordinary edition is to be sold at \$1,000 a copy, and the other, limited to 150 copies, at \$2,500 a copy. Two-thirds of the editions have already been subscribed for. So they would be at \$50,000 a copy.

The *Atlantic* is trying to find and to bring forward a group of the best-equipped young students of literature, who will take up from the point of view of the present our older writers, and say just how their literature impresses them, and how much of it gives inspiration to the present generation. "We have gone on for thirty or forty years," writes one who is interested in this series, "practically accepting the estimate of our greatest literary men which was made of them by their contemporaries. It has seemed worth while to find whether this estimate now needs revision. The views of literature and of life that these young critics hold will doubtless turn out to be exceedingly suggestive. They will give an interesting measure of the distance we have travelled in some respects in our intellectual outlook during the last thirty years. The first of these papers is the study of Emerson, by Mr. John J. Chapman, which is notable for its frankness and boldness, not simply as a literary study, but as an expression of modern New England on the New England prior to the war."

Olive Schreiner's new book, which Messrs. Roberts Bros. are bringing out, sets forth the writer's views concerning South African politics by a method that is said to be not only daring, but somewhat startling. A feature of the book is a photogravure reproduction of a photograph of the irregular execution of native spies in the recent war.

Charles Lever's novels have a healthy breeziness that should be welcome after the malarious atmosphere of the wretched popular fiction of the day. Downey & Co., London, announce the publication of a new and copyright edition of Lever's novels in thirty-six volumes. They have secured the original plates, six hundred in number, etched by "Phiz" and George Cruikshank, for the first edition. In addition several of the later volumes are illustrated with wood engravings by Luke Fildes and other artists, all of which will be included in this edition.

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